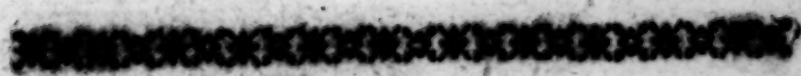


A N
A D D R E S S
T O T H E
Remaining **M E M B E R S**
O F T H E
C O T E R I E.



[Price One Shilling.]

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A N

A D D R E S S

T O T H E

R E M A I N I N G M E M B E R S



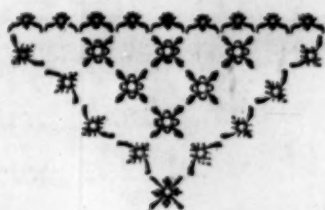
C O R I E

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[Price One Shilling.]

A N
A D D R E S S
T O T H E
Remaining MEMBERS
O F T H E
C O T E R I E.

Omnis Gratia potentia honos divitiæ apud illos sunt,
aut ubi illi volunt; vobis reliquere pericula, repul-
sas, judicia, egestatem, quæ quousque tandem patie-
mini fortissimi Viri? SALUST.



L O N D O N:

Printed for J. WILKIE, in *St. Paul's Church-Yard*;
and may be had at the Pamphlet-Shops at the *Royal-Exchange*, and *Charing-Cross*. 1765.

A D D R E S S

TO THE

Remaining MEMBERS

OF THE

C O U N C I L

General Grant's services to the cause of the oppressed are well known to all who are acquainted with the history of the anti-slavery movement in this country.



L O N D O N
Printed by J. W. Smith, at the British Museum Press,
and may be had at the Publisher's Office at the Royal
Exchange, and Church Lane, 1841.

ADDRESS, &c.

I HAVE often thought, that the Circumstances of your Landlord in *A*—e Street, are truly emblematical of your own Political Situation at *Westminster*. It would not be quite so safe, nor I believe so true, were I to assert that Mr. — is actually a Bankrupt, and unable to open his Doors, and yet there was a Time, when his warmest Supporters have been often seen to shake their Heads, and emphatically to pronounce, that he could not hold it long; adding withal, as is usually the Case with those who are wonderfully sagacious *after* an Event, that if he had acted otherwise his Fortune had been

B made.

made.—Just so, I should expect to be bluntly contradicted, were I to assert that ~~your Opposition is entirely at an End,~~ and yet I could cite you those who would be forward enough in your Support, if they had any Opinion of your Success, who now consider you as entirely defeated, your Credit to be as drooping as your Numbers, and who look upon the feeble Stand you appear to make, as the Shadow of a Party, which has neither Ability or Consistence enough to make it formidable to its Opponents. May I be allowed to continue the Allusion somewhat farther, if it was mortifying to Mr. *W*——*n* to find but fifty Patriots sitting down to a Table, which had been covered in Expectation of three Times that Number, it could not surely but have produced at least an equal Disappointment in the Minds of those who have undertaken to serve up the Political Bill of Fare, or to speak more accurately, to Dish up the Bones of Contention for the Day, to find that after the Exertion
of

of their utmost Endeavours, there should be so extraordinary a Defection. But to speak without a Metaphor ; It is scarce possible to conceive after so many Vaunts of new acquired Strength, after such incredible pains to convince those who were thought wavering in their Opinions, and to terrify those who were fearful of being opposed in their respective Counties and Boroughs ; When every Artifice had been employed that your Wit or your Resentment could suggest, when the Aid of Female Charms was called in to allure the Young, and of clamorous Addresses and Instructions to bias the Old ; after all this I say, during the Course of a Recess of Nine Months, and upon a Question on the Fate of which even your Children were taught to lisp, that the Salvation and Liberties of this Country depended, it is impossible to conceive the forlorn Situation to which a lessening Minority on this Shibboleth of your Party must have reduced you. That it has not annihilated you, is perhaps

owing more to the Peevishness of your Tempers, than to any Expectations which even the most sanguine amongst you can have formed of attaining those two Grand Ends of all your disinterested Labours, Power, and Profit.

It could not but be amusing to all who were not in the Secret of your Councils, to behold the various contradictory Stratagems by which you endeavoured to keep up a temporary Credit with your Countrymen. Upon finding that during the Course of the last Session, you had neither been able to rail or to negotiate yourselves into Government, and that the Noble Earl had rejected your Offers of Friendship and Intercourse with the same Disdain that he had ever treated your illiberal Abuse of him, Recourse was immediately had to the common Trick of false Musters, and our daily Chronicles were filled with the Reports of the many Noble Dukes and Earls that were continually acceding
to

to the Minority. Additions were hourly making to the List, when in Fact, the Books at *W——n's* were shut, and nothing had been done for a considerable Time.

As to the Administration, the same consistent Language was continued to be held of them; They were Lord *B——*'s Deputies, and had banished him from the Presence of his ———, waited to receive their Orders from him, and forbid him to appear at Court, the Delegates of his Power and the Invaders of his private Friendship. His Lordship too was spoken of in Terms of equal Concord and Agreement; he had prostituted the Dignity of these Kingdoms, and yet you invited him to guide you; you call him a Betrayer of his Country, and yet you sued to him for Protection: You condemned him to the Block and the Scaffold, and yet said you to him, *Rule thou over us.*

WHEN these Artifices had no Effect, any more than the Predictions made near
two

two Years ago, that it would be a Ministry of Six Weeks, or the wonderful Accounts of your increasing Numbers written in very Defiance of the Weekly Bills of Mortality, and of the Chronicles of the Day, which were continually recording the last Words of some dying Patriot on Behalf of Revolution Whigs, or in Opposition to Tories and Scotchmen, then, and not till then, you found yourselves obliged to assume the Guise of Men of Business, and to declare, that by constant Attendance, and as constant an Ill-humour, you would prove very troublesome Opponents to the Ministry.

It may not be amiss here to premise that the Business of your Opposition is exactly the Reverse of that which belongs to, and is undertaken by those who have at present the Management of Affairs. Their Province is to propose, to ameliorate, to regulate, to strengthen: Yours to oppose, to deny, to weaken,
and

and to divide. And it fortunately enough happens, that your Powers like your Business, are chiefly of the negative Kind; I have mentioned this the rather, because some well meaning People, trusting to your Zeal for the Liberties and Prosperity of your Country (which every Veteran knows, like the Banners of each Regiment, are constantly unfurled and displayed, whenever the Corps is put in Motion, and are as constantly safely laid up again, in Order to be ready for Use on the next Field Day) have ignorantly enough presumed it to be your Business to concert some Measures for the Public Good, to be offering Propositions for the Relief of your Fellow-Subjects from the Burthens of a dispendious War, and to be employing your Time and Thoughts in finding out Remedies against old Grievances, or preventing your Countrymen from being subjected to the like Inconveniencies for the future.—Good easy Souls, they may be worthy Men in every Relation of private Life,

Life, but they are sad blundering Politicians, they do not seem to know so much as the first Rudiments of Patriotism.— Are not they sensible that every Measure which tends to make this Country free and flourishing, sets you at a greater distance from the Helm of Government? Can they therefore imagine that you will, by proposing Schemes for the National Honour and Interest, lend a helping Hand to your own Destruction and Annihilation? Do not they know that as long as an Opinion prevails, that the Affairs of this Country are in a way to be retrieved from the languid State in which former Administrations had left them so long, it is impossible for you to think of arriving at a Situation which may enable you to replunge us into those Distresses? But whether they know this or a great deal more which might be said to the same Purpose, you wisely enough conclude, that the way to Power lies not through the Road of Submission and Acquiescence; your Interest and your Business

Business is to perplex, distress, divide the Counsels which are offered: And you were so sensible of this, that after many Objections to the Cyder Tax, some of which had been so plausibly urged, that it was thought possible they might result from compassionate Feelings for the Inhabitants of the Cyder Counties, when it was proposed to leave it to the Representatives of those Countries, to substitute some other Tax, or to modify the Tax offered, so as to render it the least Burthenfome to those who were to be affected by it, you with a becoming Public Spirit, and a thorough Knowledge of the Nature and Extent of your own Duties, said it was not your Business to propose Taxes, it belonged to the Department of the Treasury; by Consequence and by Conduct also saying, it was your Business to *oppose* them; your Department to resist and throw Difficulties in the way of every Measure which is offered.

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As there is much Good Sense and Consistency in your adopting these general Principles of Political Behaviour, so is it, philosophically speaking, highly consonant to the Reason and Fitness of things. The Cure can never be expected from the same Hand which gave the Wound. Measures of Oeconomy will in vain be looked for from the encouragers of Profusion and Prodigality: —The Conqueror of *America* in *Germany* will not deign to stop the Triumphant Car to listen to the Complaints of the impoverished Victors: Ask even those among you, who, shuddering at the Epithet *expensive* are always tacking to it the ostensible Phrases of a *Glorious and Successful War*; ask them I say, not in the midst of their Enthusiastick Ardours, when by echoing our Successes, they would seem to represent themselves as the Authors of them, but in the cooler Hours of their family privacies, what solid Advantages this Country has reaped from the Four *German Campaigns*

paings, which accumulated a Debt of near Sixty Millions Sterling, and they will probably be as much puzzled to enumerate them as many of *you* now are to know what Point of Public or *Private* Business you are next to take up as a Subject of Opposition. By far the greater Part of your unbiassed Countrymen listen to the account of the Laurels reaped in the fertile Plains of *Westphalia*, with much the same degree of Satisfaction that the honest *English* Farmer hears the wonders of that Chace, which has trodden down the Yellow Fields, even now ripe for Harvest; and like a Blast destroyed the Labours and expectation of a Twelve-month.—In private Life the Man who encumbers the Estate, leaves it to the next Generation to discharge the Debt, tho' he seldom fails of being consistent enough to rail at the enormous Extravagance of the Age in which he lives. Our Public Credit you know was extended, some did not scruple to say nigh exhausted, every order of Men among

us, labouring under the Load of accumulating Taxes; but in the midst of all, lo the Ministers goes out, and leaves it to his Successors to find ways and means for easing his Fellow Subjects, while he makes it his Business to find fault with them for being so slow in remedying those Evils, in which his own wanton Profusion had involved us. I own I am not speaking the Language of the Day, in your fashionable Phrase, Expence is *Vigor*, Continental Connections are *the true and solid Interests of these Kingdoms*, German Victories, the *National Honour and Glory*. It is no wonder that amidst the triumphant Shouts and Acclamations for such important Conquests, the Voice which would remind you that you are ruining yourselves by this Wild Fire, should be but little attended to, and that you must *feel* your Distresses before you can bring yourselves to think on them. Distresses! what an Absurdity it is to mention them; why
when

when Mr. P— was in Power we had no Distresses: He always told us we were a great and flourishing People, and he found us so.—*Possunt quia posse videntur* was his Motto. How he left us, God knows; but here come a set of People who are always telling you, you are undone: Money makes, Money was his Grace's maxim; the more you Borrow, the Richer he always thought you:—Was it not in the spirit of this Maxim, that he proposed a Vote of Credit of Two Millions, and did not he resign his Great Offices sooner than not abide by it?—Be this as it may, you are certainly much in the Right of it to speak comfortable Things, and it is the best Proof, at least I have ever thought so, of your total disinterestedness. For every Body seems to agree, that we really must be in Distresses, ay, and in very great ones too, before any of you can come into Office; and when you do resume your Power, we have a Proverb on our Side, that it must be for our Advantage.

When

When things are at the Worst they always Mend. Tho' I don't pretend to any great Depth in Politicks, yet I have ever admired that Adroitness or *Jeu de Theatre*, by which you represent all your own Party as Whigs, and your Opponents as Tories; nor do I less approve of your Professions of inviolable attachment to *Revolution* Principles, which some would be Wit, might endeavour to represent as flowing from the Versality with which many of you have revolved round, and borrowed Light from every Sun which has arisen in our Political System for these Twenty Years last past, or from that laudable Desire of a *Revolution* in Administration, which would restore some abdicated Families to the Possession of sundry Offices of great Trust and Emolument. If you ask my Opinion, I would fain have you stay still 1788, that you may commemorate the Double Blessings derived to this Country and to yourselves on one and the same Day, and I believe there cannot be a Doubt,

Doubt, but that upon one Account at least, you would be very sincere in your Acknowledgments. A propos to this, give me leave to add a Quere to your Political Catechism.—By whom was the Revolution brought about? I ask this merely for Information, for if I am to take my Creed from the writings of your Party, I there find it laid down as an unavoidable Consequence, that there is *One Noble Duke* to whom, above all the rest, this Country is indebted for so signal a Deliverance.

I should be curious enough to wish to see from what authentic Documents so extraordinary a Piece of Private History is collected. Is it written, or oral Evidence? It is no Objection to me that it contradicts every Authentic Relation that we have hitherto had of the Transactions of those Times, nor will the Age we live in be the more indisposed to it on that Account: On the Contrary, it will be so much the better: Contradict the
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established Authorities which have been received in all Ages with Veneration and Respect, and you are sure of being cried up as a Man of Ingenuity, whether the Important Tenet you are contending for, be that *Richard* the Third was a handsome Man, or that Queen *Elizabeth* was a wicked Woman. But who is this Family of whose Ancestors is said so much, and of whose Descendants there may be recorded so little? Before I come to any Decision upon the share which this great Man alluded to, had in restoring our present happy Constitution both in Church and State, I will wait to see what his boasting Progeny are now doing, *Fortes creantur, Fortibus et bonis*, and why we are so constantly referred near Fourscore Years back, in order to entertain proper Conceptions of so illustrious a Family. It cannot surely proceed from the intermediate Branches of it having been distinguished by Offices alone, and that they would fain be thought to have had the Talents of their Ancestors

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tors, conveyed down to them with the Title Deeds of their Estates. Perhaps this may have been the Case, and that they are both Rotting together in some strong Box, very carefully Locked up without ever being produced to the View of the Public.

BUT to return? When you found yourselves reduced to the Necessity of assuming the form of Men of Business, it was natural for you to consider under what Leaders you were to Class yourselves; and here indeed you had only a Choice of Difficulties, an impracticable Man, a changeable One, or a subtle refining Metaphysician.

IN the preceding Winter you were obliged to List yourselves under one who had neither Affability to conciliate, nor Consistency enough to direct the Opinions of others, one whose Lust of Dominion led him to subvert every Resolution which was not of his own conceiving,

ceiving, and to Impose upon you every Mode of Conduct which his insatiable Thirst of Popular Applause could suggest to him; a Fit of the Gout however has this Year very seasonably come to your and his Relief, and his Admirers the Mobility of *Great Britain*, have given him Credit, while he lay agonizing in Bed, for his sanction to every *Measure* which you have thought proper to take. If such a Word as *Measure* may be applied to a Conduct made up of mere Negatives, and of violent Expressions of Resentment without Bounds, and without Foundation.

DISABLED as this Great Man was from *guiding* you, where was your next Resort but to him, whose Parts might qualify him for the greatest Undertakings, whilst his Steadiness was scarce equal to the least? You knew him too well not to wish for his Abilities, and not to doubt of his Attachment.

It

It would have been idle indeed to have adopted any System of Behaviour from the Declaration of one who scarce finishes a Sentence before he is ready to retract it, and whose Opinions are so transferrable a Stock, that though experienced Dealers will have no Concerns with it, yet whoever feeds his Hopes, or flatters his Vanity, purchases it instantaneously to a considerable Amount.

It is really amusing to hear the passionate Complaints which this Political *Proteus* is ever making of the detracting Character of the Times, that no Man's good Name is safe, at the Instant that he is rivetting down upon himself every thing that has been suggested of his volatile Transactions; When I have beheld him addressing himself so much to the Admiration rather, than to the good Opinion of his Audience,

and quitting Business for a shew of Parts, I have been constantly reminded of that Precept of the Poets which the Honourable Gentleman seems not to have forgot.

Gaude quod spectant Oculi te mille loquentem,

I Will freely own that you have made the best possible Use of this fluctuating Orator ; uncertain upon what Points of Opposition he would join you, you have thankfully accepted his transitory Assistance. Whenever therefore he has been your Hero for a Day, I could not avoid comparing him to the Captain of a French Man of War, who being neither fitted by Education, by Study, or perhaps by Inclination, for the Naval Management, is only called upon to fight the Ship. As soon as the Action is over, his Duty is at an End, and he has no more Command over the Men, or direction

rection in the Steering of the Vessel,
than if he had never took Charge of it.

It was impossible that you could think of leaving the Command of your bold Enterprizes in the Hands of one who perhaps was not always to be found decisively on either Side, or at least on that which you wished him to appear. As it happens in State Offices, you determined to put the Employment of Commander in Chief of your Forces into Commission, and, tho', to continue my Naval Allusion, there are always Men running about the Quarter Deck with lighted Matches to fire off any great Gun that is loaded, yet those who have been trained to the Service generally wait for the Signal to engage.

I hope I shall be forgiven if I have not classed among your *Generals* those whom pecuniary Losses have thrown
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into a Degree of Opposition much superior to that which the cool and temperate Love you feel for your Country, produces; Resentment may be an excellent Cause and Ground of Opposition, but it certainly is not a good Weapon in the Prosecution of the Quarrel: The angry Politician and Debater, like the enraged Fencer, exposes himself the more to the Attacks of his Opponent; nor will I mention the Gentleman whom a dying Financier is said to have left as a Legacy to this Country for the filling a considerable Department in the Treasury.

Ille habeat secum servetque Sepulchra.
is my Answer.

MERE Transcripts from *Postlethwaite*, and from the printed Journals of the House, are but aukward Remedies to the distempered Condition of our Public Revenues, till he can reason, improve

prove, and calculate, as well as copy
 and read, he is not likely to give much
 Satisfaction to others, whatever he may
 do to himself. But tho' you might be
 at a Loss for able Leaders to direct, you
 find no want of Materials or Subjects
 of Opposition. Common Report has
 extracted them from your Budget, and
 they are (I mean such Points as affect
 the present Administration) the Dismiss-
 sions of Officers in Parliament, the *Ma-
 nila* Bills, the *Canada* Paper, and the
 System of a Foreign Policy : It is really
 a Thousand Pities, that the Government
 has been so cruel as to take from you
 so popular a Topic as the Subsistence of
 the *French* Prisoners ; I really do not
 think it fair that they should have Re-
 course to so unprecedented a Step as that
 of reimbursing the *British* Exchequer
 from the *French* Coffers with so capital
 a Sum as 670,000 Sterling, I am sure
 they cannot pretend to quote your Ex-
 ample in their Behalf. I defy them to
 quote

quote any Period of Time in which your Patrons ever imported so much, or indeed any Sum of Money upon this Account. Who knows but it may be intended to bribe us all to the *French* Interest, and to make us tributary to that insidious Power, which, finding its Arms ineffectual, has by this collusive Restitution, designed to ensnare us into a voluntary Surrender.

If you had been consulted on this Occasion, instead of having the Money remitted over here at an enormous Deduction of Poundage (tho' I dare say your *contracting Alderman* would have done it very reasonably) you would not have omitted so fair an Occasion of giving the Magnanimous ——— this Testimony of your Gratitude for his unmerited Defence of your Lives and Properties in the Course of the last War.

War. The Specific Sum of 670,000*l.* would itself have reminded you of the Object of Application, and where could it so properly have gone (*is olé* as it would have been in the Exchequer under your Management) as where Millions had gone before with the concurrent Approbation of the Power which received it, and of the free, opulent, and disinterested Princes of *Germany*.

BUT tho' all Occasion is taken away of what might have been so notably improved upon this Head, yet very fortunately for your Cause, another Object has been started, which, on Account of its intimate Relation with the Interests of the Public, you have very constitutionally adopted, and make it a grave Accusation against the Ministry, that they refuse to give a Compensation to a Noble Duke for the Sums of Money which he is likely to lose by a

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Parliamentary Regulation, and which Profits arose from a Trade called indeed illicit, but sanctified by general Custom, and by Usage immemorial in the Island which is his Grace's Property. 'Tis really spinning too fine to enquire into the Right which this Noble Duke has to the Compensation contended for : It is out of the Public Money that he is to be paid. What is Sixty or Seventy Thousand Pounds amongst such a large Body of People ? The denying this is a very ill-judged Parsimony, 'tis being unreasonably rigid.

WHILE I am writing this, Word alas ! is brought me, that his G—'s Moderation has superseded the Necessity of your Compassion for him, he has shewn a Temper on this Occasion which rendered him utterly unfit for *your* Patronage, and you have nothing but to lament that he has excluded himself

self from the Benefit of all that you had kindly intended him.

THERE is no one Idea which sets your Attention to the true Interests of your Country in a stronger Point of View, than the eager Zeal with which you made a Stand for a Compensation, railed at the Ministry for being thrifty of the public Money, and despised the Rights of the poor *Manks* who are too low and mean to have any Privileges, &c. or Freedom at all.

I protest I think it does you more Honour than the public hopes and desires, which you have so frequently expressed, that the *German* Demands will be scrupulously paid to the uttermost Farthing, and which indeed as they are made with such Moderation, and verified so authentically, it will be a lasting Blot on the Justice of this Nation, unless they are

punctiliously discharged without any Deductions whatsoever.

If any Conjectures had been formed from the Appearances at the beginning of the Campaign, one must have concluded that the Question of Dismissions would have been one of its earliest Objects, or in the Words of one of your own Orators, that he would not have slept upon his Pillow 'till some Determination had been come to upon so essential a Point of Public Liberty: But whatever be the Cause, whether it is that your Troops are not sufficiently disciplined, that you have not modelled your Question so as to make it generally palatable, or, which is the most probable of all, that the rare Temper and Moderation of the Person principally concerned is such, that he has deprecated your Wrath against Government in this Instance, loth as he is, from a

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particular Delicacy of Disposition, that his Name and Fortunes should be thus set in Array against Administration, which, injured and oppressed as he is, he has told you his Resolution is to support ; I say, whether it is owing to one or to all of these Causes, the Fact is, that this Storm which has so often threatened, so long been kept hovering, which has hitherto whistled and grumbled at a distance, has not yet been poured on those Heads, which your Champions have for many Months devoted to the Justice of this incensed Country.

If the Evil complained of is indeed so alarming, why will you delay the Remedy ? If you will take my Advice, bring it on immediately, and be sure to draw the Line between Civil and Military Dismissions, begin with an Axiom which must indisputably be allowed you, that as the Army is voted from
 Year

Year to Year, the Officers Commissions ought to run for the Term of their natural Lives.

WHAT is to become of our Liberties without thus securing to ourselves a regular standing Constitutional Force to protect us in the Enjoyment of them? You will then naturally proceed to enlarge upon the superior Hardships of Military, above those of Civil Dismissions, in which it must unavoidably occur to you that Preferments in the former Line are never the Effect of Favour or Affection; but the constant and regular Reward of Skill and Service in the Profession, whereas the Latter are the *Coup de Mains* of Fortune. The sudden Elevations of Favourites who have neither Knowledge or Merit for the Foundation of their Claims, but the

the Pretensions of Family only to support them.

BUT however you may touch upon this Part of the Comparative State of the Argument, be sure to adopt in it's utmost Latitude, the Expediency of Dismissions from civil Employments. Whoever recollects the numerous Proscriptions of former Administrations in which you bore so considerable a Share, will not Doubt in the least of your Opinions upon this Subject, and that whenever you return to Glory, you will make a plentiful Use of these moderate Declarations of your Sentiments.—If any one should be inconsistent enough to oppose to these irrefragable Reasonings the Idea of the C—'s Right to place or to displace, you will explode such an imaginary Pretence consistently with that Jurisdiction which you Patrons have ever exercised unlimitedly over the Prerogative

tive of the —, and according to the full and precise Tenor of the Treaty of *August 27, 1763*, Article VIII. and which tho' never ratified on Account of some defect in the full Powers of the Representative of the Contracting Parties, will yet serve as a Basis for all future Negotiations, which expressly stipulates, that it shall and may be Lawful for — to Name, Appoint, Dismiss, and Cashier all and every the Officers Civil and Military within his Majesty's Dominions, the Town of *Berwick upon Tweed*, and the Counties of *Flint*, *Denbigh*, and *Radnor* in *Wales*, any Usage, Privilege, Right or Franchise to the contrary notwithstanding. Then follows the Description of all who were to be *ipso facto* deprived from the Date of the Presents, such as those who had approved of the Peace and the like. You are already so fully apprized of the Expediency of inveighing against *Military*
 Dif-

Dismissions, in Order to exasperate People for the present, and of inculcating the Necessity of Civil Dismissions, in Order to secure Vacancies to yourselves for the future, that any thing which could be added on this Subject would be superfluous.

I pass on therefore to the *Manila* Bills, which you may probably select as the next Subject of your Patriotism ; And what a Noble Field is here for the Exertion of your Eloquence ; The Nature of the Demand confessedly a Public One ; The Archbishop of *Manila's* Right to draw on the *Spanish* Treasury for any Sum, not worded as in a *British* Supply (for a Sum not exceeding) but for any Sum which his Grace's good Pleasure or Necessities might require.

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You will not forget to urge the Consideration given in lieu of those Bills, the Mercy shewu to the Stones of *Manila* Streets, to the Galeon, to the King of *Spain's* Stores and Artillery, which were preserved in excellent Order, and given up upon the Restitution of the Place, instead of being demolished, which they unquestionably might have been ; Nor will the *Canada* Paper Bills be an Occasion less fit for the Exertion of your Abilities—You will there be sure of enlarging upon the Necessity of claiming particular Exemptions in Favour of the *British* Holders of them.

NEVER admit the Excuse that the *French* Edict has put all Persons who have them in their Hands upon the same footing, and that no particular Hardship is put upon the *British* Merchant ; Be it sufficient to say you have a Demand, make it good, or we will declare

declare War ; Your Business is then done, if you can but once set the Heralds a trumpeting Blood and Slaughter to *France* and *Spain*, then in comes your Martial Minister, and with him that Train of beneficial Douceurs, *American* and *German* Contracts, Remittances, extensive Loans, and Subscriptions, the Advantages of which you are too well acquainted with not to wish for.

AND this is the true Source of the Objections which you have so much Reason to make against the System of foreign Policy adopted by the present Administration. What a pitiful Parsimony is it to refuse the expending a few Millions to raise an adequate Idea of the Majesty of these Kingdoms in the Minds of the Princes of the *German* Empire, who are always sagacious enough to form their Opinions of you from what *you give*, and not from what *you have*,

Potior

Potior est qui prior ad dandum est.

The true and solid Interests of this Country are most shamefully mistaken; Because you are an Island, forsooth, it is pretended that a superiority at Sea is all sufficient; What have you no Bowels for your poor Protestant Brethren? Have you no Gratitude to that Great S——n who drew his Sword in the Cause of that Religion which he so dearly loves? Do not you know that we ought to rejoice that we could get our Money accepted, and ought not you to be thankful for so condescending a Goodness which was pleased to receive at our unworthy Hands such a Free-will Offering? You will not attempt to call it a Subsidy.

THE Great ——— would have taken his Death sooner than a Subsidy, for it is an acknowledged Maxim in Politicks, that the Power subsidized is always inferior to
the

the Power subsidizing: This being the Case, you cannot hesitate a Moment; it was not a Subsidy, it was a Gift; and you are generous enough to want to repeat it.

I dare say modified as it is by the above Distinction, tho' I by no means pretend to answer for the high Wills of such Great Powers, yet I should think if we were happy enough to get this Disposition properly represented, the Party applied to might graciously vouchsafe out of his Princely Condescension, to give Way to our Intreaties, and direct the Application of our humble Free Gift to the Benefit of the *common Cause*, but farther than that we must never presume to press it.

ANOTHER Objection to the foreign Policy at present established, is that total Disregard of the Distresses of our
German

German Brethren, who have lost their all in the Defence of our Lives, Properties, and Holy Faith, in refusing to admit without Examination, the Bills which they have very reasonably tendered:

THE solemn Assurances tacked to the Accounts, seem to make no more Impression than the Seals which they have affixed to them: It would melt the Heart of a *Jew* to think that after the scrupulous thriftiness with which they have framed their Demands, and the regular Vouchers which they have produced to support them, such exorbitant Deductions should yet be made, to the discredit of that Reputation which *Great Britain* has, in the late War, so expensively acquired for good Nature and prompt Payment.

If, in Spight of all these well-grounded Accusations, and of many others

others like these which every Day and every Man may produce, Administration should remain *inexpugnable*, and you should at last discover that it would have been more advantageous to your Cause if you could have charged your Adversaries with squandering, rather than with saving the Public Money : If moderate Men should begin to doubt of your Principles from beholding the pettish Eagerness with which you support Claims on the Public, because you think it will be difficult to find Ways and Means for making them good, or because particular Circumstances will bring an accidental and momentary Increase to your Numbers. If they should revolt at your taking up private Demands, at your being the Champions of *German* Interests, and at your Endeavours to load this already burthened Country with every Pretension to Money as with so much real Debt you will do well, desperate as your Game may seem to recant,

cant, the Opinions you have hitherto adopted, and to lick the Hand which 'till now you have put from you.

Do not be discouraged in the least with Fears of being reproached for Inconsistency. 'Tis not you are charged, but the Interests of your Country, and your Conduct will be according to a fashionable Distinction *adequate to your Situation*: Besides it is not so difficult a Matter as you may imagine, to reconcile the two seemingly opposite and contradictory parts of your Sentiments.

If you have before called the *Scotch* a selfish sordid People, you will now take care to represent them as an attentive, industrious Nation: If you have before reproached them for leaguings together, you will now only say that they have a natural Partiality towards their own Country: If you have exclaimed from an ill-grounded Similarity of Names on
their

their engrossing many lucrative Offices, you will now assert, that they are justly rewarded for their long and faithful Services: instead of complaining of their Numbers, you will wish for more of them to set the *English* a Pattern of Friendship and of Oeconomy. You will attemper your Language with regard to the noble *Thane* in the same Manner. Instead of declaiming against Favouritism, you will style him by way of Eminence and of Encomium the Friend of the . Call him no more the Poisoner of his Youth, but the Mentor of the Age. Dwell on the Sweets of private Friendship, and complain of those ruffian Minds which could ever think of interrupting so desirable an Harmony, and by way of closing the Campaign, if you have Time enough, propose an Address to know by whose Advice he was

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removed during the last Winter so many Miles distant from *London*.

If any Objections should be started to this Plan, upon the Supposition that you cannot at once turn so short about, and court the Party whom you have hitherto insulted and vilified, though these will never be made by any who know you and your Leaders, and who recollect that you have by turns fawned on and traduced every set Sect and Denomination of Men in the three Kingdoms, yet you will, for your Justification to those few who not knowing you may perhaps wonder, inculcate this useful Maxim, *the End justifies the Means, and that it is equally indifferent to the Interests of their Country, whether in the Changes of the Times the Instrument of Government is a Scotch Favourite or a German W——e.** Power and Profit are your Ends. The Means

* Vide Gazetteer, 29 August 1763.

Means you are to make use of may not be quite so ostensible. At all Events, when you are in Power, you will then exercise at pleasure your favourite Attribute, Revenge, and may threaten and scourge those whom you cannot reason into an Approbation of your Conduct,

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Means you are to make use of may not
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F I N I S